

Books by Robert C. Tucker

Philosophy and Myth in Karl Marx

The Soviet Political Mind

The Great Purge Trial (*co-editor*)

The Marxian Revolutionary Idea

Stalin as Revolutionary, 1879-1929: A Study in History and Personality

The Lenin Anthology (*editor*)

Stalinism: Essays in Historical Interpretation (*editor*)

THE
MARX-ENGELS
READER

SECOND EDITION

Edited by

ROBERT C. TUCKER

PRINCETON UNIVERSITY



W · W · NORTON & COMPANY

New York · London

Contents

Preface to the Second Edition	ix
Chronology: The Lives of Marx and Engels	xv
Introduction	xix
Note on Texts and Terminology	xxxix

Part I. The Early Marx

Marx on the History of His Opinions (Preface to <i>A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy</i>)	3
Discovering Hegel (Marx to his father)	7
To Make the World Philosophical (from Marx's doctoral dissertation)	9
For a Ruthless Criticism of Everything Existing (Marx to Arnold Ruge)	12
Contribution to the Critique of Hegel's <i>Philosophy of Right</i>	16
On the Jewish Question	26
Contribution to the Critique of Hegel's <i>Philosophy of Right</i> : Introduction	53
Economic and Philosophic Manuscripts of 1844	66
Critical Marginal Notes on the Article "The King of Prussia and Social Reform"	126
Alienation and Social Classes (from <i>The Holy Family</i>)	133
Society and Economy in History (Marx to P. V. Annenkov)	136
Theses on Feuerbach	143
The German Ideology: Part I	146

Part II. The Critique of Capitalism

Wage Labour and Capital	203
The Coming Unheaval (From <i>The Poverty of Philosophy</i>)	218

W. W. Norton & Company, Inc., 500 Fifth Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10036
W. W. Norton & Company Ltd., 25 New Street Square, London EC4A 3JA

Copyright © 1978, 1972 by W. W. Norton & Company, Inc.
All Rights Reserved

Selections from *Grundrisse: Foundations of the Critique of Political Economy*, by Karl Marx, translated by Martin Nicolaus. Copyright © 1973 by Martin Nicolaus. Reprinted by permission of Random House, Inc. and Penguin Books Ltd.
Selection from *On Revolution*, by Karl Marx, edited by Saul K. Padover. Copyright © 1971 by Saul K. Padover. Used with permission of McGraw-Hill Book Company.
Marx's 1837 letter to his father, and selections from Marx's doctoral dissertation, from the "Contribution to the Critique of Hegel's *Philosophy of Right*, and from "Critical Marginal Notes on the Article 'The King of Prussia and Social Reform,'" are from Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Collected Works*, Volumes 1 and 3. Copyright © 1975 by International Publishers, Inc.

Library of Congress Cataloging in Publication Data

Main entry under title:

The Marx-Engels reader.

Includes bibliographical references and index.

1. Communism—Collected works. 2. Socialism—Collected works.
I. Marx, Karl, 1818–1883. Selections. English. 1978. II. Engels, Friedrich, 1820–1895. Selections. English. 1978. III. Tucker, Robert C.
HX39.5.M374 1978 335.4 77–16635

PRINTED IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

3 4 5 6 7 8 9 0

ISBN 0-393-09040-X

Class Struggle and Mode of Production (Marx to Joseph Weydemeyer)	220
The <i>Grundrisse</i>	221
Capital, Volume One	294
Capital, Volume Three	439
Crisis Theory (from <i>Theories of Surplus Value</i>)	443
Part III. Revolutionary Program and Strategy	
Manifesto of the Communist Party	469
Address of the Central Committee to the Communist League	501
Inaugural Address of the Working Men's International Association	512
Economics and Politics in the Labor Movement (Marx to F. Bolte)	520
Against Personality Cults (Marx to W. Blos)	521
The Possibility of Non-Violent Revolution (the Amsterdam speech)	522
Critique of the Gotha Program	525
After the Revolution: Marx Debates Bakunin	542
Circular Letter to Bebel, Liebknecht, Bracke, and Others	549
The Tactics of Social Democracy (Engels' Introduction to Marx's <i>The Class Struggles in France, 1848-1850</i>)	556
Part IV. Society and Politics in the Nineteenth Century	
Speech at the Anniversary of the <i>People's Paper</i> Working-Class Manchester (from <i>The Condition of the Working Class in England in 1844</i>)	577
The Class Struggles in France, 1848-1850	579
The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte	586
The Civil War in France	594
On Imperialism in India	618
On Social Relations in Russia	653
Europocentric World Revolution (Marx to Engels; Engels to Karl Kautsky)	665
	676

Part V. The Later Engels: Elaboration and Popularization	
Speech at the Graveside of Karl Marx	681
Socialism: Utopian and Scientific	683
On the Division of Labour in Production (From <i>Anti-Dühring</i>)	718
On Morality (From <i>Anti-Dühring</i>)	725
Versus the Anarchists (Engels to Theodor Cuno)	728
On Authority	730
The Origin of the Family, Private Property, and the State	734
Letters on Historical Materialism	760
Bibliographic Note	769
Index	771

ever-extending scale, the co-operative form of the labour-process, the conscious technical application of science, the methodical cultivation of the soil, the transformation of the instruments of labour into instruments of labour only usable in common, the economising of all means of production by their use as the means of production of combined, socialised labour, the entanglement of all peoples in the net of the world-market, and with this, the international character of the capitalistic régime. Along with the constantly diminishing number of the magnates of capital, who usurp and monopolise all advantages of this process of transformation, grows the mass of misery, oppression, slavery, degradation, exploitation; but with this too grows the revolt of the working-class, a class always increasing in numbers, and disciplined, united, organised by the very mechanism of the process of capitalist production itself. The monopoly of capital becomes a fetter upon the mode of production, which has sprung up and flourished along with, and under it. Centralisation of the means of production and socialisation of labour at last reach a point where they become incompatible with their capitalist integument. This integument is burst asunder. The knell of capitalist private property sounds. The expropriators are expropriated.

The capitalist mode of appropriation, the result of the capitalist mode of production, produces capitalist private property. This is the first negation of individual private property, as founded on the labour of the proprietor. But capitalist production begets, with the inexorability of a law of Nature, its own negation. It is the negation of negation. This does not re-establish private property for the producer, but gives him individual property based on the acquisitions of the capitalist era: *i.e.*, on co-operation and the possession in common of the land and of the means of production.

The transformation of scattered private property, arising from individual labour, into capitalist private property is, naturally, a process, incomparably more protracted, violent, and difficult, than the transformation of capitalistic private property, already practically resting on socialised production, into socialised property. In the former case, we had the expropriation of the mass of the people by a few usurpers; in the latter, we have the expropriation of a few usurpers by the mass of the people.

Capital, Volume Three

KARL MARX

Volumes Two and Three of *Capital*, left in incomplete manuscript by Marx, were later edited and brought out by Engels. Two excerpts from Volume Three are presented here.

The first (whose title has been given by the editor of this reader) gives Marx's vision of man in a future condition of freedom—creative leisure—made possible by machine industry and the worldwide proletarian revolution that, as he saw it, was destined to liberate man's productive activity from the fetters of capitalist acquisitiveness. But there would remain, in this realm of freedom, a residual realm of necessity: the labour time required to produce needed goods under even the most advanced technology.

The second selection is the famous last chapter of Volume Three, entitled "Classes," in which the manuscript breaks off after Marx has asked: "What constitutes a class?" In fact, there is no mystery about his answer. A class, in Marx's view, is a special form of the division of labor in society.*

On the Realm of Necessity and the Realm of Freedom

We have seen that the capitalist process of production is a historically determined form of the social process of production in general. The latter is as much a production process of material conditions of human life as a process taking place under specific historical and economic production relations, producing and reproducing these production relations themselves, and thereby also the bearers of this process, their material conditions of existence and their mutual relations, *i.e.*, their particular socio-economic form. For the aggregate of these relations, in which the agents of this production stand with respect to Nature and to one another, and in which they produce, is precisely society, considered from the standpoint of its economic structure. Like all its predecessors, the capitalist process of production proceeds under definite material conditions, which are, however, simultaneously the bearers of definite social relations entered into by individuals in the process of reproducing

* See, for example, his statement in *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte* (p. 608, below): "In so far as millions of families live under economic conditions of existence that

divide their mode of life, their interests and their culture from those of the other classes, and put them in hostile contrast to the latter, they form a class."

their life. Those conditions, like these relations, are on the one hand prerequisites, on the other hand results and creations of the capitalist process of production; they are produced and reproduced by it. We saw also that capital—and the capitalist is merely capital personified and functions in the process of production solely as the agent of capital—in its corresponding social process of production, pumps a definite quantity of surplus labour out of the direct producers, or labourers; capital obtains this surplus labour without an equivalent, and in essence it always remains forced labour—no matter how much it may seem to result from free contractual agreement. This surplus labour appears as surplus value, and this surplus value exists as a surplus product. Surplus labour in general, as labour performed over and above the given requirements, must always remain. In the capitalist as well as in the slave system, etc., it merely assumes an antagonistic form and is supplemented by complete idleness of a stratum of society. A definite quantity of surplus labour is required as insurance against accidents, and by the necessary and progressive expansion of the process of reproduction in keeping with the development of the needs and the growth of population, which is called accumulation from the viewpoint of the capitalist. It is one of the civilizing aspects of capital that it enforces this surplus labour in a manner and under conditions which are more advantageous to the development of the productive forces, social relations, and the creation of the elements for a new and higher form than under the preceding forms of slavery, serfdom, etc. Thus it gives rise to a stage, on the one hand, in which coercion and monopolization of social development (including its material and intellectual advantages) by one portion of society at the expense of the other are eliminated; on the other hand, it creates the material means and embryonic conditions, making it possible in a higher form of society to combine this surplus labour with a greater reduction of time devoted to material labour in general. For, depending on the development of labour productivity, surplus labour may be large in a small total working day, and relatively small in a large total working day. If the necessary labour time = 3 and the surplus labour = 3, then the total working day = 6 and the rate of surplus labour = 100%. If the necessary labour = 9 and the surplus labour = 3, then the total working day = 12 and the rate of surplus labour only 33⅓%. In that case, it depends upon the labour productivity how much use value shall be produced in a definite time, hence also in a definite surplus labour time. The actual wealth of society, and the possibility of constantly expanding its reproduction process, therefore, do not depend upon the duration of surplus labour, but upon its productivity and the more or less copious conditions of production under which it is

performed. In fact, the realm of freedom actually begins only where labour which is determined by necessity and mundane considerations ceases; thus in the very nature of things it lies beyond the sphere of actual material production. Just as the savage must wrestle with Nature to satisfy his wants, to maintain and reproduce life, so must civilized man, and he must do so in all social formations and under all possible modes of production. With his development this realm of physical necessity expands as a result of his wants; but, at the same time, the forces of production which satisfy these wants also increase. Freedom in this field can only consist in socialized man, the associated producers, rationally regulating their interchange with Nature, bringing it under their common control, instead of being ruled by it as by the blind forces of Nature; and achieving this with the least expenditure of energy and under conditions most favourable to, and worthy of, their human nature. But it nonetheless still remains a realm of necessity. Beyond it begins that development of human energy which is an end in itself, the true realm of freedom, which, however, can blossom forth only with the realm of necessity as its basis. The shortening of the working day is its basic prerequisite.

Classes

The owners merely of labour-power, owners of capital, and land-owners, whose respective sources of income are wages, profit and ground-rent, in other words, wage-labourers, capitalists and land-owners, constitute then three big classes of modern society based upon the capitalist mode of production.

In England, modern society is indisputably most highly and classically developed in economic structure. Nevertheless, even here the stratification of classes does not appear in its pure form. Middle and intermediate strata even here obliterate lines of demarcation everywhere (although incomparably less in rural districts than in the cities). However, this is immaterial for our analysis. We have seen that the continual tendency and law of development of the capitalist mode of production is more and more to divorce the means of production from labour and more and more to concentrate the scattered means of production into large groups, thereby transforming labour into wage-labour and the means of production into capital. And to this tendency, on the other hand, corresponds the independent separation of landed property from capital and labour, or the transformation of all landed property into the form of landed property corresponding to the capitalist mode of production.

The first question to be answered is this: What constitutes a class?—and the reply to this follows naturally from the reply to

another question, namely: What makes wage-labourers, capitalists and landlords constitute the three great social classes?

At first glance—the identity of revenues and sources of revenue. There are three great social groups whose members, the individuals forming them, live on wages, profit and ground-rent respectively, on the realisation of their labour-power, their capital, and their landed property.

However, from this standpoint, physicians and officials, e.g., would also constitute two classes, for they belong to two distinct social groups, the members of each of these groups receiving their revenue from one and the same source. The same would also be true of the infinite fragmentation of interest and rank into which the division of social labour splits labourers as well as capitalists and landlords—the latter, e.g., into owners of vineyards, farm owners, owners of forests, mine owners and owners of fisheries.¹

1. Here the manuscript breaks off.

Crisis Theory

KARL MARX

Business cycles and the related though not identical topic of economic crises fascinated Marx. He invested much time in their study and often indicated how important he considered their impact on society and political systems. Yet he left no developed account of his views on crises. The selection presented here comes from one of Marx's most underappreciated works, *Theories of Surplus Value*, a three-volume work which has sometimes been described as Volume Four of *Capital*.

It is Chapter XVII of this work, and not *Capital* proper, that contains the best and most systematic discussion by Marx of economic crises. The discussion takes the form of an attack on Say's Law of Markets. This was an argument, put forward by Jean-Baptiste Say (1767–1832) and James Mill (1773–1836) and accepted by David Ricardo (1772–1823), for the impossibility of a sustained general glut (of "overproduced" commodities). It is interesting that Marx's attack, like modern criticism of Say, centers on the potentially grave consequences for economic equilibrium of the generalization of the money economy.*

Ricardo's Denial of General Over-Production. Possibility of a Crisis Inherent in the Inner Contradictions of Commodity and Money

* * *

So far as crises are concerned, all those writers who describe the real movement of prices, or all experts, who write in the actual situation of a crisis, have been right in ignoring the allegedly theoretical twaddle and in contenting themselves with the idea that what may be true in abstract theory—namely, that no gluts of the market and so forth are possible—is, nevertheless, wrong in practice. The constant recurrence of crises has in fact reduced the rigmarole of Say and others to a phraseology which is now only used in times of prosperity but is cast aside in times of crises.

In the crises of the world market, the contradictions and antagonisms of bourgeois production are strikingly revealed. Instead of investigating the nature of the conflicting elements which erupt in the catastrophe, the apologists content themselves with denying the catastrophe itself and insisting, in the face of their regular and periodic recurrence, that if production were carried on according to the

* The above headnote was prepared by Thomas Ferguson. [R. T.]